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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. INTRODUCTION

208 In Communist China, agencies for the dissemination of public information places stress on propaganda and education. As it is true of all Communist countries, the Chinese People's Republic is guided by the inviolable principle that all facts and issues must be selected and interpreted in the light of Marxist theories and the current Party line. Limited by source materials of a regional character, the following discussion on public information and propaganda in East China will attempt to cover only the basic facts about the formal structure, operation, and government control of the principal media of mass communication in the region. Wherever possible, exemplary cases in each medium will be included.

II. PRESS

A. News Services

204 Before the Communists occupied the East China Region in 1949, the Nationalist government-operated Central News Agency played the leading role in supplying the newspapers in this area with material. Services of foreign press associations were available; dispatches by such major institutions as the Associated Press, United Press,

204 International News Service, Reuters of England, Agence France, and Tass (the Soviet News Agency) frequently appeared in local newspapers. The Chinese Communist official outlet, the New China News Agency, also had branches in such large cities as Shanghai and Nanking. During the Nationalist-Communist conflict, the New China News Agency was subjected to varying degrees of government suppression in Nationalist areas. In Communist areas, the New China News Agency was the only active news service because the Central News Agency had been forced to close.

Upon the occupation of East China, the Communists moved to drive out the foreign news services and expand the New China News Agency. Under the direct control of the Information Administration of the State Council in Peking, this Communist news agency soon established its branches in both military and civil subdivisions, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Hierarchy of the New China News Agency */

	Branch HQ	Branch Office	Section	Corr. Cntr.	Liason Office
Civil....	Region	Province	Muni.	Hsien	Hsiang
Military..	Field Army Corps	Army	Regiment	Battalion	Company

*/ Jen Chung "Lun Chung-kung Ti Hsin-wen Kung-tso" ["On the Chinese Communist Press"] Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly] , Hong Kong, March 29, 1954, pp. 7-9. –

204 In addition to the permanent branches, the New China News Agency also sends out teams of correspondents to news centers. At the site of the Hwai River project in Anhwei Province, or on the construction groun of the Tzu-po industrial area in Shantung Province, temporary offices of the New China News Agency are established to keep the nation informed of the progress of these projects.

The organization of the New China News Agency is highly centralized. Through the chain of command shown in Table 1, every staff member is placed under rigid government and Party control. Careful selection of correspondents is the first step adopted by the agency to insure the allegiance of its employees to the government and the Party. According to some anti-Communist sources, the correspondent must submit his ideas and outlines for approval before he writes them; the finished articles go through another thorough screening before they are released.[1]

Another news agency, the China News Service, established branches in East China in October 1952. The head of this agency, Chin Chung-hua, was a member of the East China Military and Politica Committee (supreme authority in East China until 1954) and vice-chairman of the cultural department under the committee. The agency

1. Jen Chung, "Chung-kung Pao-chih Ti Nei-yung Chi Pien-p'ai" [The Contents and Layouts of Chinese Communist Newspapers"], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], No. 71, May 10, 1954, pp. 14-15.

• 204 serves mainly as an interpreter of news events in China for foreign consumption.

B. Newspapers

1. Development and Control The Communist press in the East China Region had its origin in late 1946 in such newspapers as the Ta-chung Jih-pao [Masses Daily], published for the "old liberated area in Shantung Province," and at least two other dailies of the same name published at Chiao-tung and Lin-i. These newspapers were designed to glorify the "achievements" in the Communist-liberated areas and contained a large percentage of reports on the Land Reform Movement. As the Communist Army advanced southward from Shantung Province, an organized effort was exerted to Sovietize the existing newspapers and to quash those which failed to reflect the Communist line. By early 1950, when the Communists had already consolidated their position in East China, the official press policy was to "readjust the relations between the government and independent newspapers, carry out criticism and self-criticism in the press, and further promote the close tie between the press and the masses."[2] Translated, the foregoing Communist jargon means that strict observation of the Party line on the part of the existing non-government organs was yet to be achieved.

2. Report by Shu T'ung, Commissioner of Culture and Education, East China Military and Political Commitee. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 564.

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208 What is the official Communist Party line concerning the press? This question has been answered by Lenin himself in his much-quoted statement: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator; it is also a collective organizer."[3] Later Mao Tse-tung echo his ideological master by saying: "The duty of a Party newspaper is not only to propagandize and agitate, but more specifically it must serve as the messenger transmitting the Party's policies."[4] Chairman Shu T'ung of the Cultural and Educational Commission, East China Military and Political Committee, was translating this press policy into action when he said in 1950 that the relations between government and "independent" newspapers needed readjustment.

The Communists in East China have followed this press policy. In March 1952, the Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], this region's leading newspaper, tonge-lashed the Su-nan Jih-pao [South Kiangsu Daily] for having failed to take the cue from the Party. As a result the latter published a lengthy "self-criticism" as a gesture of repentance.[5] In 1953, Chairman Shu T'ung again reiterated that the cardinal mission of the press was

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3. Alex Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 135.

4. The Communist Propaganda Work, Ta-lu Fei-ch'ing Nien-pao [Annual Reports on Communist China], Taipei, Chung-kuo hsin-wen ch'u-pan-ssu, 1954, p. 148.

5. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, March 20, 1952.

204 208 to "strengthen and uphold the practice of criticism and self-criticism and set up a clear propaganda line."[6] In January 1954, Communist authorities in this region sent Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, president of the Liberation Daily, to Moscow for two months to study the operation of Pravda. This was the latest action in the Communist effort to run East China newspapers in absolute conformity with the orthodox Party line.

To implement this policy the Communists had, until June 1954, a Cultural and Educational Commission under the East China Military and Political Committee. Shu T'ung, chairman of the commission, is a veteran Communist authority on cultural and educational affairs. His experience dates back to 1939 when he served as head of the political department of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region Government. Since 1949 he has been in charge of the propaganda department for the Communist Party's East China branch. Under this commission and directly responsible for the press administration in this region was the Information and Publications Bureau, with Chang Ch'un-ch'iao as its chief. Within the region, each province had an information and publications department. These were the tools which the Communist Party and the Peking regime used to control the regiona press. Since the dissolution of the East China Military and Political Committee in 1954, the provincial information and publications departments have become directly responsible to their superiors in Peking and to the propaganda

6. Ibid., Feb. 22, 1953.

204 departments at the corresponding levels of the 208 Communist Party hierarchy.

These government and Party agencies work closely with the leading newspapers, and the lesser newspapers closely watch the metropolitan ones for cues. The information and publications department relays Peking's instructions, passes on the issues to be emphasized or suppressed, and generally supervises the entire press operation.

The Communists began tightening their control on export of newspapers in the winter of 1951. By the spring of 1953, all except a few official and national newspapers were placed on the contraband list. Since then it has been extremely difficult to secure accurate data on the number of newspapers and their circulation in any region of the Mainland. Earlier statistics show that in 1950 at least nineteen "government" newspapers in this region had been merged into other larger government organs.[7] At present, scattered reports show that at least one major newspaper is published in each province in East China.

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7. Shu T'ung, loc. cit.

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Table 2. Major Newspapers in East China */

Name of Newspaper		Place of Publication
Che'chiang Jih-pao	[Chekiang Daily]	Hankow, Chekiang Province
An-hui Jih-pao	[Anhwei Daily]	Hofei, Anhwei Province
Hsin-hua Jih-pao	[New China Daily]	Nanking, Kiangsu Province
Ta-chung Jih-pao	[Masses Daily]	Tsinan, Shantung Province
Fu-chien Jih-pao	[Fukien Daily]	Foochow, Fukien Province
Chieh-fang Jih-pao	[Liberation Daily]	Shanghai, Kiangsu Province
Shang-hai Hsin-wen Jih-pao	[Shanghai Daily News]	Shanghai, Kiangsu Province
Wen hui Pao	[Wen-hui Daily]	Shanghai, Kiangsu Province
Hsin-min-pao Wen-k'an	[New People Evening News]	Shanghai, Kiangsu Province

*/ Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao 1955, p. 553.

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● 204 All the newspapers listed in Table 2 went through a thorough reorganization of personnel and management in 1952. The former leading paper in Shanghai, the Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], was ordered to move to Tientsin and was merged with the Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily]. The English-language Shanghai News went out of business at the end of December 1952. But the reorganization and merger still left Shanghai with the largest newspaper concentration in East China. Subsequently the Communists in Shanghai carried out their principle of "specialization and centralization" in the publishing industry; each of the major papers in Shanghai began to specialize in one field of news. The Shanghai Daily News was to focus its attention on local news, aiming at the commercial and industrial life of Shanghai. The Wen-hui Daily was assigned to report on education, catering to the students. The New People's Evening News would cover recreation, physical education, and other social activities in Shanghai.[8]

Many local papers on the levels of the administrative district and hsien have been established or reorganized, but it is doubtful if there are many newspapers published below the hsien level. Lack of facilities is one reason, and the Communist policy on expansion of the press is

8. Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Ch'u-pan K'ung-chih" ["The Chinese Communist Control on Publications"], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, No. 56, Jan. 25, 1954.

another. Communist authorities have repeatedly said that they want no "blind expansion." Chairman Shu T'ung has warned the newspapermen in East China against "preoccupation with quantity."[9] It is very clear that for the time being the Communists prefer fewer but well-manipulated large newspapers to many smaller ones which might complicate the problem of control. Wherever the regular daily press cannot serve directly, the Communists are using wall newspapers, mimeographed bulletins, and a number of other forms of news dissemination operating in conjunction with the radio.

According to the Communist plan, the calculated expansion of the press has as its ultimate goal a newspaper for each level of political subdivisions from the provincial down to the village. Cutting across these levels there are also some trade journals which, while emphasizing the technical aspects of respective trades, are by no means less intense in their political coloring. In July 1950, the labor unions in this region were publishing a total of sixteen periodicals, ranging from dailies to monthlies.[10]

2. Contents and Readership

Besides using the New China News Agency hand-outs to fill the national, international, and regional news columns, newspapers in this region also observe the official policy of "cultivating" their own correspondents. These correspondents, often unpaid, are students, members of labor union staffs, secretaries of

9. Liberation Daily Feb 22, 1953.

10. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker's Monthly], No. 6, Peking, July 15, 1950, p. 6-65.

peasants' associations, and Party cadres assigned to various quarters of the community. A comparison of several newspapers in this region shows that there is some variation in the display of national and regional news items, but this variation tends to diminish when any one of the Peking high officials makes a speech or when issues like the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns are the order of the day.

What do the newspapers contain? To give a clearer answer to this question, issues of a typical daily have been analyzed, with the results shown in Table 3.[11]

11. For discussion on the format of newspapers, see the chapter on Language.

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Table 3. Contents of the Liberation Daily (June 1952) */

Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorials	4.5
International news	13.2
National news	8.9
Regional news	10.7
Local news	9.7
Features	18.6
"Letters to the editor"	7.6
Graphic materials	6.9
Advertising	13.3
Reader's reference	3.9
Market reports	2.7

*/ Because the layout of the Chinese newspaper is different from that of the English-language newspaper, the percentage figures are here arrived at by measuring each item in square inches instead of column-inches.

• 204 Because it is the leading newspaper in this region, the Liberation Daily should carry more regional news than other newspapers. However because Shanghai is the economic center of East China and the current central theme of the press is economic reconstruction, many regional reports on economic activities actually have a local setting. For instance, one item on the reduction of loan interest at the Shanghai People's Bank is undoubtedly of regional significance and, judging by its repercussions, may even be of national concern.[12] The peculiar situation of Shanghai, therefore, gives much of the local news in this newspaper a greater-than-local appeal. Another difficulty encountered in the foregoing survey is the fact that news items often resemble feature stories. The reports are usually lengthy and contain a good deal of editorializing. Even the headlines are long-winded and "loaded," such as the one on page 2 of the June 20th issue -- "The Mutual-Aid-Team Delegates from Ch'u-hsien upon Visiting the Mechanical Harvester in Operation Realize the Greatness of the Laboring Class."

There is no "society column" in any of the major newspapers, unless the commencement speech at the local party cadre school or the report on the proceedings at the local factory

12. Liberation Daily, June 25, 1952, p. 2.

mass meeting can be so considered. There is no sports page; news items having any bearing on physical education are either speeches by the director of the Physical Education Department or brief statistical summaries of athletic events without any "color material." Crime and murder news is suppressed. Fire and other disasters appear in the press only when there is a possible "sabotage" angle to be exploited for propaganda effect. Unlike leading newspapers in many other areas, the Liberation Daily carries more advertisements. This is again on account of Shanghai's position as an economic and manufacturing center.

In June 1952, the Korean peace talks were under way at Kaesong, and in the Liberation Daily, almost all the international news items concerned Korea. At about the same time the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns were still going on, hence the frequent appearance in the advertising column of warrants seeking the apprehension of corrupt officials.

The "Letters to the editor" column is a common feature for many newspapers in this region. The Liberation Daily prints a few such letters in every issue. Sometimes the newspaper carries a digest of several letters on the same subject; at other times the paper prefaces several letters on the same subject with a critical analysis or reply; at still other times the paper merely prints its editorial reply without reproducing the letters. The letters are presented as "unaltered originals." Among these appearing in the June 1952 issues,

• 204 many were highly critical of certain government agencies or personnel, but none touched upon the over-all Communist policy. As a rule, if the criticisms are substantial, they could constitute a basis for action on a high level to correct the condition criticized. One of the letters involving what amounts to a miscarriage of justice at the local court was published on the front page with a two-column headline, instead of being put in the usual column provided for such letters on one of the inner pages.[13] Because the victim who paid for the court's mistake with his life was a worker and Shanghai was heralded as a citadel for the workers, the Liberation Daily supported the plaintiff in its editorial column. Consequently, the local court was penalized.

The "Readers' Reference" column is a unique feature of the Liberation Daily. The column contains a few highlights of the day's news, usually summarized items of significant propaganda and "mass education" value. There are also questions, querying the reader on his understanding of the news report. It is to be noted that the word "reader" in this column does not mean the ordinary reader, but rather the leader of a newspaper reading group who has the job of interpreting the news for his group. The column provides him guidance.

Most of the schools include newspaper-reading in their curricula. Factories and government offices organize newspaper-reading and discussion groups which are co-ordinated by the "social service department" of the newspaper. This department offers guidance and aid to the newspaper-reading groups by sending news analysts to preside

13. Liberation Daily, June 20, 1952, p. 1.

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204 over the reading sessions. The analyst interprets the news for the group and cultivates the enthusiasts in the group to become leaders of new reading groups. In May 1950, the Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily] in Nanking increased its "social service department" staff by 116, each in charge of scores of reading groups.[14]

3. Circulation and Sales

Subscriptions to the newspaper in East China are handled through either the local post offices or the China Publications Distribution Company, a government-supervised organization which has branches throughout Mainland China. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of allowing smaller local papers to manage their own subscriptions and sales. If subscribed through the post office, the paper is delivered with the mail. Street sales, handled by bookstores and sidewalk stands, constitute a part of the distribution. There is no evidence of news-vendors or delivery boys, who, before 1949, roamed the streets of East China.

The street-sale price of the Liberation Daily in 1953 was JMP$ 600 per copy. This was the price for about six ounces of rice or one and one-half ounces of pork at that time in Shanghai. Students and members of the armed forces are entitled to reduced group subscription rates. The Communists in East China are following the national practice of making the newspapers financially self-supporting, not only for purposes of economy, but because they believe that if the

14. Jen Chung, "Lun Chung-kung Ti Hsin-wen Kung-tao ["On The Chinese Communist Press"], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an[China Weekly], Hong Kong, Mar 29, 1954, p. 7.

the papers are sufficiently "popularized" they will have the support of the masses, and government subsidy will become unnecessary. There are reports on the Communists' success in this endeavor, but none of these reports bear specifically on any particular paper in this region.

With the help of postal delivery, the distribution and sale of newspapers in East China have been facilitated. In September 1951, at least one newspaper was available in each of the 700 villages of one (unnamed) county in Kiangsu Province. An average of 4.5 copies were bought by each village every day in another (unnamed) county in Shantung Province.[15] This degree of achievement, however, was not satisfactory to the Communists, for in January 1952 they reiterated the call for an increase of newspaper circulation in East China. In bringing out the facts shown in Table 4, the Communists were placing emphasis on national newspapers rather than those exclusively serving this region.

15. New China News Agency dispatch from Peking, Sept. 15, 1951, quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 176, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, Sept. 17-18, 1951.

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Table 4. Circulation of East China Periodicals */

Name of Publication	Proposed Circulation	Circulation in November 1951
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy.....	17, 845	2, 864
People's Daily [Peking]	63, 919	46, 100
Liberation Daily	143, 500	105, 200

*/ Liberation Daily, December 28, 1951. p. 1.

The first two publications listed in Table 4 are national. Explanations given by East China Communist Party cadres indicate that in 1951 the personnel in charge of cultural works erred in stressing promotion of local newspapers while neglecting national Party newspapers. For the total circulation figure of all the newspapers in East China, the 1951 proposed target was 1, 420, 000; and for the magazines, 560, 000. This[16] circulation was 30 per cent short of the proposed figures at the end of 1951.

16. SCMP, No. 107, May 24-25, 1951, pp. 26-27; Liberation Daily, Dec. 28, 1951, p. 1.

204 Three newspapers, all published in Shanghai, and all of a regional nature, had circulation records[17] of over 110,000 each in June 1952. At that time the total circulation of all dailies[18] in Shanghai stood at 1,099,000. By February 1953, success claimed by the Communists in East China in their newspaper-promotion campaign necessitated an official order to "suspend subscriptions to periodicals because of exhaustion of quota."[19] The suspension order specifically mentioned such national periodicals as Shih-chieh Chih-shih [World Knowledge], also known as [World Culture], Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], and Chung-kuo Chin-yung [Chinese Finance]. This again indicates that the Communist emphasis was on national publications, and the promotion campaigns in East China were possibly more successful with national periodicals.

C. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

214 While the daily press is the most orthodox means of mass communication the world over,

17. These dailies are: Liberation Daily, Wen-hui Daily, Lao-tung Daily. See Liberation Daily, June 2, 1952, p. 3; and Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Sept. 7 1955, p. 2.

18. Ibid.

19. Liberation Daily, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 4.

214 system in East China is well-organized and the current trend is toward further expansion of this centralized system.

• 204 3. Contents and Readership The most popular publications are light literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets.[25] Two popular booklets, Continuous Production in Capitalism and China's Highways are 5" x 7" in size and contain less than one-hundred pages each.[26] The former is one of a series on political and economic sciences; the latter appears in a group of such pamphlets on popular science and engineering. In these pamphlets, political and technical matters are interpreted in the simplest possible terms. Illustrations are used but they include no elaborate color plates to increase the cost of printing; thus the pamphlets can be made available to people of lower income. Although not periodicals, these series are published at regular intervals.

The number of major magazines available in 1954 in Shanghai, which has remained the center of periodical publications in East China, are shown in Table 6.

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25. National survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. I, no. 5, Peking, Mar. 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature with 1673 titles ranked first in all book categories published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

26. [See following page.]

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Table 6 Major Magazines Available in Shanghai (1954)*/

Subject Matter	Number
General	3
World Affairs	3
Economics	3
Agriculture	1
Industrial and engineering	19
Communications	4
Education	5
Children	5
Women	2
Popular science	7
Medical science, health	11
Linguistics	5
Literature	11
Pictorial	2
Total	81

*/ Ch'ün-mo Luan-wu Ti Shang-hai-shih [Shanghai Where the Demons Dance in Confusion], Taipei the Sixth Section Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 20-21.

26. Sun Huai-jen, Tzu-pen-chu-i Ti Tsai-sheng-ch'an [The Continuous Production in Capitalism], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1954; Mao Shou-chin and others, Kung-lu Ch'ang-shih [Common Knowledge about Highways], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951.

217 4. Libraries and Cultural Centers Small libraries have been established throughout this region to cater to the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. In November 1950, 216 libraries were open to the public in northern Kiangsu Province, and there were some eighty small libraries in the city of Shanghai. The plan for 1951 was to add 2,500 similar libraries in the farm areas, 1,000 in factories, government offices and schools, and 3,000 in units of the armed forces within the region.[28] By July 1951, rural libraries in East China[29] numbered 1,400 and those in factories totaled 400.

The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural "palace" on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger centers have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most reserve some space for reading rooms.

In conjunction with the libraries and cultural centers, there are also popular science education centers. Through exhibits, movies, lectures, and other available means, these centers strive to furnish the public with a basic knowledge of the natural sciences.

208 D. Application and Effectiveness of the Press
204 As a Propaganda Medium

28. SCMP, No. 20, Nov. 30, 1950, p. 7.
29. Ibid., No. 136, July 17, 1951, p. 15.

208
204 Communist cultural and educational workers are ready to claim success in bringing the press closer to the masses. There is evidence to support the conclusion that Communist press control in East China is thorough, in spite of the fact that Shanghai before 1949 had the largest number of independent newspapers of all the cities in East China. Under a rigid system of control, the effectiveness of the press as a medium of public information and propaganda is restricted or aided by certain characteristics.

1. Thought reform. The remolding of a newspaperman's thought is not a new subject in East China. One of the recent official expressions on this subject was pronounced at the Shanghai Branch of the East China Study Committee. The committee was organized by leaders of the cultural circles in this region to study Marxist, Leninist, and Maoist theories. The occasion was a meeting held by the committee to discuss thought reform among newspapermen. At the end of the meeting, the following conclusions were reached: (a) freedom of the press was wavering objectivism without a definite viewpoint; (b) effort to improve the appearance of the newspaper such as the format and graphic beauty was but trifling formalism; (c) the belief that a journalist was "a king without a crown" was anarchism that defied government organization and discipline.[30] The last reference to the professional freedom of

30. Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Ch'u-pan K'ung-chih" ["The Communist Control on Publications,"] China Weekly, No. 56 Jan. 25, 1954, pp. 7-9.

208 a newspaperman as a "king without a crown"
204 was an expression popular in Chinese press circle
By reaching the conclusion the Communist have fired a salvo at all the traditional standards and principles held by the newspapermen. A new professional standard is established for Chinese journalists -- to report the facts selected for them in order to educate the readers to support government policy.

2. Easy to read and believe. The Communists are always keenly aware of the importance of making newspapers easy to read. Early in their underground days they used as a motto O. A. Piatnitskii's remark that "revolutionary newspapers must be written in plain and popular language so that they can be understood by the masses."[31] Especially in Shanghai, where a concentration of workers presented the first challenge to Communist propaganda agents, the newspapers and other publications catering to uneducated and semi-educated readers are carrying out the long-established Communist policy of "explaining the political problems in the simplest possible terms."[32] Local expressions and trade jargons are freely adopted. To a person trained in classical Chinese and accustomed to

31. Translation appears in Hung-chi [Red Flag], Jan. 15, 1932. Osip Aronovich Piatnitskii, author of such standard treatises on Communist propaganda and agitation as World Economic Crisis: the Revolutionary Upsurge and Tasks of the Communist Parties, and World Communists in Action, was idolized by Chinese Bolsheviks in early 1930's.

32. Red Flag, March 10, 1932.

208 reading the serious writings of pre-Communist
204 days, the new language of the Communist press would sound strange if not silly. But the new style does increase the popular appeal of the publications.

to

3. Opportunity learn through propaganda. The Communists also bring to the public a good quantity of much-needed rudimentary knowledge on the natural sciences and public health, and sanitation. The unskilled laborer, who had no opportunity to learn anything except what he acquired in his daily routine, now can gain something from the special columns and feature stories in the newspapers. The Liberation Daily prints regular columns on literature, health, and science. Smaller newspapers in East China have their columns tailored to suit the literacy level and specific need of their respective reader groups. In addition, there is at least one magazine catering to each of the professional strata in East China, and for each periodical on a certain subject, there are dozens of pamphlets published every year to reach readers of varying degrees of education. The propaganda angle in most of these publications is obvious. Even in the most technical treatises, the general slant is to contrast the present with the past. The evils of the past are blamed on the "reactionary Kuomintang" or "American imperialism." The present is praised and the credit goes to Mao Tse-tung or to Communism. Take the case of an article on tractors, for example. The articles does not openly attack the technical excellence of American

208 tractors; but it insists that America gave guns to
204 the Nationalists, not tractors to the peasants. Having described Russian-made tractors, the article concludes with the assertion that Mao Tse-tung and the Russians are working to bring tractors to the peasants. The technical aspects of the subject are not neglected, but the propaganda line is skilfully underscored throughout the text. Readers who need the technical information contained in articles of this sort are continually exposed to a propaganda bombardment.

4. Cultivation of News Reading. It would be greatly misleading to compare the Chinese Communist press with the American press and to judge the former's effectiveness thereby. The Chinese press has never permeated community life to the degree that the American press has. Except for small sections of China's urban population, no Chinese would feel at a loss if he had no morning paper to read at the breakfast table. By and large the Chinese Communists are cultivating the newspaper-reading habit The entirely new experience of reading the newspapers or of having them explained is exciting to the average man on a lower Yangtze River farm or in the southern Fukien hills. It is believable that Li Ch'un-yü, a 52-year-old worker at a P'eng-lai factory in Shantung Province, pasted the day's newspaper above his head and read it every morning and every night; or the woman worker Shen Mei-li of the Shanghai Textile Factory felt that her day's work was not done until she had finished reading the newspaper.[33] Li and Shen

33. Liberation Daily, June 2. 1952, p. 3.

208 have no previous experience with which to contrast
204 the present one; therefore, they do not know what might be expected of a newspaper. To people like Li and Shen, the press in East China obviously has a great appeal. As to the section of the urban population which has had some experience in reading non-Communist newspapers, some people have embraced Communism and therefore welcome the Communist press, and others are forced to accept the Communist press, because there is no alternative. The only section of the population which probably does not want to read the Communist press at all is the storekeepers and some of the middle-class readers in larger cities. Having been among the supporters of what might be described as China's yellow journalism, which had a limited popularity in the larger cities in pre-Communist days, these people have no incentive to read the dull and drab Communist newspapers.

5. Delayed reporting. Another general criticism against the Chinese Communist press is that it contains no news and that it is history. With the unwieldy system of checking and double-checking, news dispatches are often delayed. The report on Malenkov's downfall, for instance, did not reach this region until announced by Tass three days later. But lack of promptness in reporting certain political events apparently does not impair the effectiveness of the controlled East China press, and certainly will not reduce its appeal to the unsophisticated masses.

6. Limited circulation. Quantity may not be a reliable criterion to gauge the effectiveness of the press in East China. According to Commu-

208 nist statistics in 1951 there was one copy of a
• 204 daily newspaper to every 150 persons, and one copy of a magazine to every 280 persons. While this may appear to be limited circulation, other methods of news dissemination supplement the regular press.

7. Slanting the news and restricting coverage. Two developments may fatally damage the effectiveness of the press in East China. The newspapers in this region, like those in many other areas, slant the news for propaganda purposes. No gross inaccuracies have been reported, but as the readers become more sophisticated, inaccuracy of news reports will destroy confidence in the press.[34] The Communists have also attempted to restrict the circulation of local newspapers to their respective districts.[35] This was done under the pretext of avoiding duplication and waste in the distribution of newspapers. While the move may be necessary in view of East China's planned economy at the present stage, the effectiveness of the press as a medium of mass communication is curtailed when the newspapers cannot freely purvey news from one locality to another. Magazines, pamphlets, and books in this region are as yet free from this restriction.

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34. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Sept. 26, 1951.

35. Central News Agency dispatch, quoted in Review of Hong Kong Chinese Press, No. 174 Hong Kong American Consulate-General, Sept. 19-20, 1953.